1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

A striking difference between the Dorobo and Nandi systems is that whereas Nandi may not marry any person in the *ilíet*, the Dorobo were insistent that a man might marry his father's sister's daughter's daughter, the girl whom he calls *macokor*, a person definitely in the *ilíet*. This type of marriage does not seem to occur now; but did in the past. Marriage with a wife's sister is considered objectionable.

Behaviour patterns may be summed up in a statement made by a Dorobo that "a man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we are all on terms of friendliness and 'clean fun.'" Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother. Between a man and members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed; but elders must always be shown respect. Where the claims of relatives are concerned, the amount of contact is important, for even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen cannot expect and will not receive so much respect as one who lives nearby and is well known. On a husband's part, there should be complete avoidance of his wife's mother, though this may be relaxed by degrees as he gets older; conversation with the wife's father should be limited to greetings.

Pre-marital Sex-life

Owing to the small number of Dorobo and the consequent shortage of women for wives, men have little in the way of pre-marital sex-life; and if a man does manage to acquire a lover, he often marries her.

Bridewealth

This varies according to circumstances, and Dorobo statements about it are conflicting. In 1927 it was said to consist of large quantities of honey-wine and of monkey-skin caps; but in 1930 the standard was one cow (with calf if still suckling), one ox, and four goats. The number of goats varied in the recorded cases from two to six, and in one case the cattle amounted to four oxen. A man also gives his father-in-law presents of honey-wine and a fur cap or two; thus marriage is more of a drain on a man's resources than formerly.

Betrothal

A man chooses his wife himself, and arranges the preliminaries with the girl's father during two visits at which he gives him presents of honey. After the second visit the father calls the clan council together and publicly gives his consent to the marriage.

Marriage

The marriage ceremonies are conducted by an elder known for the time as *patum*, who brings the bride to her future husband's home, where the guests are already assembled feasting. The girl enters the hut in which the ceremony is to take place, and in the presence of witnesses the *patum* gives her to the man, saying, *Koipuncia cicoto*, "you now belong to this man." He then binds some *sebutiet* grass on the man's right wrist, and an old woman binds some of the same on the girl's right wrist. They are now married. The *patum* then sets up an erection of *sebutiet* grass called *tumdo* which is smeared over with cow-dung; this the wife has to knock down and tread upon. After this, the pair are left alone, and the marriage is consummated. Next day the *tumdo* is trodden into the floor and plastered over with cow-dung, for it must not be seen. The pair are then shaved, he by the *patum*, she by the old woman, and the hair is buried in cow-dung under an erection of sticks called *hoveniot*, which is set up in great secrecy by the *patum*. It is essential

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

cide, adultery, and assault. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council: the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the *koret* council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to force the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 58). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the *koret* council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of stealing food may say, "If I am a thief, may this grass eat me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man incapacitates another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo of another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living alone the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

Summary

The Dorobo horde consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly by the feeling that they are all Dorobo, but much more by the clan ties which cut across the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dorobo.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Crafts

Housing

(*a*) Forest type: the *koconget*, in use as late as 1927, was a framework of sticks bent over to form an oblong, dome-shaped structure, covered on the outside with banana leaves and leaves of trees; height, 6 ft.; length, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. (*b*) New types: the *keriet* has a circular wall about 5 ft. high plastered with mud, and an almost flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the *kot* is a hut of ordinary Nandi type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest, consisting of three or four *koconget* huts, were situated in clearings just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

Dress and Ornaments

Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the forms are mainly copied from those of the Nandi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, iron wire armlets and leglets, necklaces, and married women's ear-rings (*taok*). The ear-lobes are pierced and elongated (sometimes getting torn in the forest), and a small hole is bored in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisors. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 2 ins., when it is sometimes covered with a bladder cap, and sometimes dressed with red earth and fat. Occasionally a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Nandi.

Tools and Weapons

Axes and knives are obtained from Nandi smiths, the Dorobo making the wooden handles. Needles are made from old nails and bits of wire which the Dorobo

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

412 find lying about on the farms. The only weapon is the bow, *kuyagda*, which the
411 Dorobo make themselves from the *kuriot* tree (*lovlea* sp.); it is about 5 ft. long, and
[439] the bowstring, *inet*, is made from gut of the giant pig, *tumda*. Arrow-shafts are
278 made from the *koromandet* and *masaita* trees, or from bamboo, *sosoiyat*; arrow-
heads are bought from the Nandi, and are of the Nandi patterns. Arrows are carried
in quivers made of hide. Arrow poison is made from the *keliot* bush (*acocanthera Schimperi*).

Baskets

415 Making baskets, *kerepet*, is a common occupation of Dorobo women. They are
[462] made from fibre of the *phœnix reclinata* palm, *sosiot*, and sewn with bast made from
[824] a plant called *tapaririet*. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat then
285 gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn type and bee-skep variety, the
stitches being spaced out and not close together.

Miscellaneous

317 Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant *tepenguet* (*æmilia integrifolia*).
[263] Red and white earth is found near Timboroa on the east of the Dorobo country, and
[439] men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large leather
[302] bags, mainly in order to sell it to the Nandi who, in 1939, gave them 2s. a bag.
415 Red earth, *erokoit*, is mixed with fat or simsim oil for rubbing on the hair; white
481 earth, *eworiot*, has magico-religious uses. For carrying a number of small objects a
carrying-net called *lekuelet* is used; it is made of a pair of oval rims 3 ft. 6 ins. long
with pieces of liana stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of handleless
tennis rackets. These are sometimes used by the Nandi.

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

776 *Asista*, the sun, is recognized as a being that can supply or withhold the needs of people: *Asis, ipiiyec panyek*, "*Asis*, fill us with meat," is a common prayer. Some say that *Arana* the moon is his sister, others that she is his mother. Besides *Asis*, it is believed that there is a being called *Ilet*, the thunder, who produces rain, and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dorobo also believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called *cesowiloi*, a word which includes the *oiik* (ancestral spirits) and *musambuanik* (evil spirits) of the Nandi. The
775 ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Nandi, and though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit the living, travelling in the bodies of snakes, both to see their people and to get food in the form of *lokomek* (honey and water); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

Divination

780 The Dorobo appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have
648 recourse to divination, as in cases of illness or witchcraft, they go to Nandi diviners
759 of the type called *sakeynot*, by whom they are charged a small fee. The people
called *orkoiyot* (pl. *orkoiik*) among the Dorobo are no more than leeches or physicians
789 who prepare healing medicines from trees and plants. Although the Dorobo have a reputation among other tribes as powerful rain-makers, they themselves say that they have no rain-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

764 Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 ft. deep in which the bodies are laid full length wearing their clothes; one year after an old man's death his children plant a branch of *mukupcot* (*dracæna* sp.) on his grave and let it grow. Other people are laid out for the hyenas, both sexes on the right side with

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

be that their absence is in many cases due to poverty. The *Mósiro* women follow the unusual custom of the Masai women in shaving their heads.

The younger generation of the men ape the Masai in wearing pigtails and dress like them when they can. They are addicted to the use of *Ol-kária* [1] and will, in time, be absorbed by the Masai. A few of them are now working as herds for various Masai, and, as I have said before, others have begun to follow a pastoral life with their own small herds.

All the *Mósiro* speak Masai, but many of them do so very imperfectly. No Masai that I have met can speak the *Mósiro* tongue, though Masai who have come in contact with the Nandi tell me that the language spoken by the *Mósiro* to-day seems vaguely reminiscent of the Nandi speech. Reference to the lists of numbers given elsewhere will show the marked similarity there is between the numerals (up to five) in the Nandi, Suk and *Mósiro* tongues.

The language of the *Mósiro* is dying, as any language except Masai tends to do in the Masai country. I have asked many *Mósiro* to give me the names of various common objects, and I have often been given a Masai name, my informant protesting that he knew no other. In the case of the numerals, it would seem to be a moot point as to whether the *Mósiro* tongue originally possessed numerals up to seven only and borrowed the remainder from Masai, when usage demanded, or whether the numerals from eight onwards have fallen into disuse and have been replaced gradually by the Masai words.

The physical make-up of the *Mósiro* is good. They are, as a rule, tall and lithe and are in many cases more muscular than the Masai. The pigmentation of their skins varies from a light, clear brown to a black almost Nubian. There would seem to be differences between them and the Masai in the formation of the jaw-bone and the zygomatic arch. I have had neither instruments nor training to enable me to undertake a series of anthropometrical measurements, but I think it is safe to say that many *Mósiro* have high cheek-bones and

[1] A mixture of red ochre and mutton fat, smeared all over the body and patterned on the legs, arms and face. It seems to be in use among nearly all Nilotic tribes.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

enormously developed maxillary muscles. Individual physical peculiarities are not readily apparent when pigtails are almost universally grown and bodies are smeared with red ochre. The Nilotic peculiarity of standing on one leg has been observed in the *Mósiro*, but it is not seen so often as in the case of the Masai. I have been unable to discover any examples of pronounced steatopygia in the women, who are, usually, more prolific than the Masai women, and who are prized by the Masai for this reason. The *Mósiro* are a hardy race, and even at a comparatively advanced age the men retain great powers of activity and endurance.

The older generation (in common with the Masai elders) pays little attention to its personal appearance. *Mósiro* of a certain age would seem to be less under Masai influence than are the young men and are readily distinguishable from the Masai at first sight. (It might, perhaps, be as well to modify this by saying that an eye unaccustomed to looking on Masai will often fail to detect any difference between them and Dorobo of any type. Recently, I made the experiment of asking two Europeans from the coast to separate the Masai from the Dorobo in a mixed gathering. Each of them made a different selection and each of them was wrong in the majority of cases.)

In hunting, tracking, bush-lore and forest-craft the *Mósiroi* is, in my opinion, without equal when in familiar country. He seems to know instinctively what an animal will do under given circumstances, and inability to follow its track will seldom result in the pursuit being abandoned. If the ground is stony or if the passage of other animals has obliterated the trail, the *Mósiroi* will go quietly forward and will eventually, by a combination of luck, instinct and knowledge of the country and the habits of the quarry, pick up the spoor again. I have seen this happen many times. The *Mósiroi* knows when extreme caution must be observed and when noise does not matter; he is never at a loss for a vantage-point and, on the whole, is tenacious and plucky in the pursuit of dangerous game. He can summon lion to a kill by producing a weird, muffled, nasal cry (it is supposed to represent the bleating of a goat, though it has little resemblance to that noise, to my

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

291
301 large discs of brass wire (*tuet*, pl. *tudk*), which are hung from the ears by leather straps (*muilto*; N. *muito*), to which are frequently fastened one or two cowries (*sekeriek*; N. *sekerek*) (Text-fig. 18). These ear-rings are, as among the Nandi, the sign of marriage. Girls wear skins (*akuriet*) or cloth (*anget*). They have armlets (*kurik*, N.) and leglets (*ndapalweet*; N. *tapalweet*) of iron-wire, and necklaces of wire or beads (*asingait*). The edges of skin garments, both of men and women, are generally trimmed and stitched.

Mutilations of the Body.

304 (a) *Ears.*—In both sexes a small hole (*engeberit*; Kony *ingeberit*) is bored in the top of the ear. This among the Nandi is the tribal mark, and it seems to be so among the Dorōbo. Both sexes also pierce the lobes of the ears, and elongate them by inserting cylindrical blocks of wood (*ketik ap iitik*, N.), as among the Nandi.
[301] Ear-rings are hung from the lobes, which in the case of men are often broken by being caught by branches in the forest.

(b) *Teeth.*—Some Dorōbo remove the two middle incisors of the lower jaw, like the Nandi and other tribes; others do not. This is done, they say, "*si ko-kororon-it piik*" (in order that people may become beautiful).

(c) *Sexual Organs.*—Circumcision and clitoridectomy are practised. (*See* V, "Circumcision.")

Hair.

302 Men wear their hair moderately long; they put oil and red clay (*ngaret*, N.) on the hair, which sometimes becomes matted, as seen often on Nandi, particularly women. The head is shaved periodically. Boys put red clay and oil on to the shaved head. Both old men and senior warriors wear beards and moustaches, though to no greater extent than the Nandi. In some old men the beard is seen trimmed and pointed. Girls and women shave their heads periodically, and put oil on the shaved heads.

Paint.

Warriors paint their legs with red and white clay, as do the Nandi; they also put red clay on their heads.

Arts and Crafts.

325
[439] The Dorōbo have few crafts of their own. They have no knowledge of metallurgy, and there are no smiths; all their ironwork is obtained from the Nandi.

(*a*) Weapons of Chase and War.

411 These consist of bows (*kuyaāgda*), arrows (*kōtiek*, *kiperēnik*, *kipchāponik*, N.; and *mbunatit*); spears (*olmorondoit*† or *morondoit*†); swords (*weseito*; or *rotuet*, N.); shields (*loāget*, N.); and knives (*chambolust*, N.). Spears, swords, and shields are obtained from the Nandi.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

585 is dressed and oiled during the morning at her own home by the old women of her family and settlement. When she is ready the bridegroom's mother and the *Pa-tum* come for her, accompanied by a small boy or girl known as the *mistoat* or "herdsman", who acts as page or bridesmaid. It does not matter whether the *mistoat* is a boy or girl: the choice depends entirely upon who is available. The function of the *mistoat* is obscure; he or she merely walks with the bridal party, doing no specific duty. The bride is led to the bridegroom's place, where the guests are assembled drinking the beer and eating the food which has previously been prepared by the bridegroom's family. By now it is evening, and the bride on her arrival is called, together with the groom, by the *Pa-tum* to the hut where the ceremony is to take place. In this hut, in the presence of some old men, the *Pa-tum* says to the bride, *Keipuncin cicoto, meiwendi* ("you belong to this man, do not go from him"). The old men then leave, and when they are alone the *Pa-tum* binds a bracelet of *sekutiet* grass (Sporobolus) on the bridegroom's right wrist, while an old woman of the girl's clan binds a similar bracelet on the girl's right wrist. This act and the words '*keipuncin*', etc. constitute the essential part of the ceremony, for they bind the woman to her husband. After this, an erection of grass called *tumdo* is set up in the middle of the hut by the *Pa-tum*. It consists of a bundle of *sekutiet* grass tied together and set up in a hole in the floor, having been made in secrecy beforehand by the *Pa-tum* and the old woman who assists him. The *Pa-tum* makes a hole in the floor with a pointed stick and lines the hole with dung. The bundle of grass is then stood upright in it and the base is plastered over with a small mound of dung, and dung is also smeared all over it so that the grasses stick together; the dung must be cow-dung. When it is ready, the husband says to his wife, *Nyon tiec*, "come and tread on it". She does so, whereupon the *Pa-tum* sets it up again, and the action is then repeated three more times, after which it is left lying on the ground and remains there all night, while the newly married couple consummate the marriage beside it. The *tumdo* seems to be a fertility symbol, erectio phalli, and is perhaps left on the floor during the first marriage-act to ensure a fertile union. In the morning it is trodden well into floor and dung is plastered over so that it cannot be seen. It is particularly important that children should not see it. Next day the pair are shaved, he by the *Pa-tum*, she by the old woman, and the hair is buried under an erection called *korosiot*, which is made by the *Pa-tum* of five or six sticks about 5 feet long cut from *oltamiyoit* (olive), *ceptuiyet*, or *masaita* trees, and tied together at the bottom with liana and set upright in a hole in the ground somewhere in the forest or in thick bush. The hair is placed against the liana binding, and a small mound of cow-dung is made over it. The *korosiot* is then left untended till it falls down. No children or unmarried people may see it, and it is made with the utmost secrecy by the *Pa-tum*, none but he knowing where it has been set up, in order to prevent the hair from getting into the hands of a witch. The use of cow-dung is essential for both *tumdo* and *korosiot*, and if there are no cattle in the bridegroom's settlement, somebody must go beforehand and bring some in.

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5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

682 few relatives it would be very much less. The murderer had to provide as
623 many of the number decided upon as he could, either from his own herd if
692 he had one, or by getting them from the Nandi in exchange for furs, which meant, of course, that the cattle would be either oxen or worn-out old cows, and that he would not be able to provide many himself. It therefore fell to his relatives and clansmen to make up the number, which needed a clan council to apportion the balance among them, and also resulted in a good deal of feeling against the murderer for a time. Until the amount had been
[614] agreed upon by both clan and *koret* councils, the murderer was liable (in theory at least) to be killed by his victim's relatives, so he had to lie low till the negotiations were completed, though again it is doubtful if they would actually have gone as far as killing him, for then they themselves would merely have had to return the cattle as compensation for their own act. In dividing cattle between the murdered man's relatives, the order of priority was brother, wife, father, mother, father's brother, father's brother's son, father's sister's son.

683 **Killing a witch.** Though in 1939 I could hear of no Dorobo who were
754 reputed to be witches (*ponik*), such people certainly existed in the past. Apart from killing people by spells, their principal activities seem to have been centred on hunting — putting spells on game traps and on men who were going to hunt. If a witch was shown by a diviner to be guilty of a person's death, he or she might be killed, and no compensation was payable (*mepase*).

609 **Killing an enemy.** This means killing any person who is not a Dorobo
682 and is believed or known to have performed any unfriendly act against the Dorobo. The Dorobo have no sort of war organization, and their enemies
[701] were generally shot at from the cover of under-growth. Though not a crime,
[721] killing an enemy none the less makes the killer ritually unclean and therefore
[783] dangerous to others because he has shed human blood. This action is thus brought into the same category as homicide of a Dorobo, and though there is naturally no compensation, purification is required. The face of a man
[802] who has killed an enemy is painted (*kemase tokei*) with stripes of white earth (*emoriot*) on the forehead, down each cheek, and down both sides of the nose. The paint is allowed to remain till it flakes off, and the man does not have to stay in his hut, but goes about as usual; though if he had killed a Nandi he would take care to go to some other part of the forest till he thought it safe to return. In actual fact, Nandi were seldom killed, but one who strayed into the forest might get shot by accident: the body would be taken to a lonely place for the hyaenas to eat, and at any sign of Nandi activity the Dorobo would vanish into the depth of the forest where the Nandi would have little chance of finding them even if they had the inclination to search.

685 **Theft.** Stealing honey is the worst kind of theft, and is almost comparable with intra-tribal cattle-theft among the Nandi. A man who steals honey from someone else's barrels is considered very low indeed, and if found

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

a clear, windless sky. About 10 o'clock a curious whistling noise began to come from a certain part of the forest, and continued, on the same note, and without a break, for several hours. It was certainly no human or machine-made noise, and the Dorobo professed complete ignorance of it. A Nandi who had lived there before the Nandi War told me afterwards that it was an evil spirit whistling in the forest, "for we used to hear them whistling to each other like that in the forest when I was a child".

Between people and the things on which they depend for their existence both spiritual and material there is a connexion which is best expressed in terms of a ritual relationship. Things have a ritual value for people, and people themselves have a ritual status which is a relationship with their surroundings that can be altered for better or for worse according to the way in which they respect the ritual value of the things around them. Religion and magic form the procedure which protects these ritual values and status, while political organization is, in a sense, no more than an effort to maintain the ritual status of the horde in spite of the tendency of its members to injure their own ritual status and in consequence that of the horde also.

Certain things that a person does, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, cause deterioration of ritual status; but the original status may be recovered by the performance of certain ritual actions which may involve some personal effort or sacrifice. Examples of acts which cause loss of ritual status, and the means taken to restore it, are: (1) A girl who bears a child before marriage must have the undigested grass (*eiyat*) from the stomach of a goat rubbed over her face, neck, and breasts, and must then wash it off. (2) After a woman has given birth, she is in a condition of much reduced ritual status, and her husband must rub goat's fat and *eiyat* over her face, breasts, and belly. (3) A man who has killed a Dorobo must have goat's fat rubbed all over him. (4) One who has killed an enemy must have stripes of white earth painted on his face. In all these cases the people have done something which causes loss of ritual status, making them ritually unclean (*uuan* or *somis*) and so a source of danger to others till they have been purified. The potential danger is removed by means of something which has a ritual value. Moreover, an essential element in the cleansing process is sacrifice, that is, the use of the material must either involve giving up something which is valued, or it must require some effort or even risk to get hold of. The *eiyat* or fat must be from a domestic animal: if the person concerned has one, he must use it; if he has none, then he must get one, and without delay, which for a Dorobo usually meant that he had to steal it, and thus risk getting killed while doing so. Therefore there is an act of faith in these magico-religious performances, and people believe so firmly in the efficacy of what they do that they are prepared to risk danger in order to get the necessary materials. The use of white earth may entail no more than a journey to get it, but that still means a personal effort on somebody's part. Materials which are used for the restoration of ritual status, and in consequence have a special ritual value, include: the flesh of goats, which is eaten when twins are born, and in cases of incest; *eiyat*, the undigested grass from the stomach of a ruminant (a sheep

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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[361]

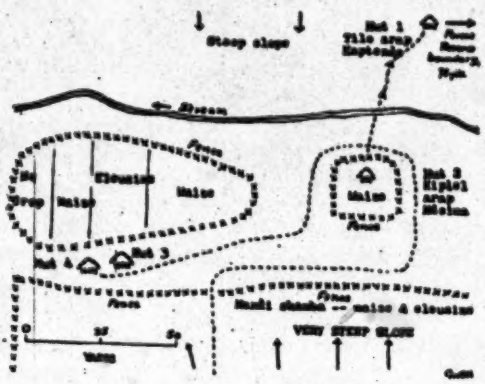

Fig. 6. Plan of a Dorobo Shamba at Kelpui alongside a Nandi Shamba.

at Kipukua in 1938 the crop was so much damaged by monkeys, pigs, and a sort of mole called *keseviat*, that the original shamba had to be given up, and the occupiers took up new and separate plots elsewhere. Sometimes a Dorobo has a shamba all to himself; more often, however, several people divide the area inside a fence, each contributing to the labour of making it; [648] and in some cases Dorobo share part of a fenced shamba with Nandi (Fig. 6).

317 Though not connected with cultivation, we may mention here the subject of earth digging, because it is concerned with the ground. Red and white earth is found near Timboroa (or *Tambarua*, as the Dorobo call it), and men go in parties of four or five to dig it. They use nothing but a digging [482] stick, *kamet*, made of a sharpened stake, and the earth is carried home in large leather bags. In former days, when other Dorobo lived in the earth- [423] producing area, a digging party would ask leave to dig from the man who hunted over that tract of land, and though no fee seems to have been paid, it is said that if a man should refuse his consent, the party would go home without digging. But as no Dorobo now live there, this could not be 439 verified. To-day the Dorobo sell coloured earth to the Nandi, who pay them 435 at the rate of 2 shillings for a large bag of earth. Red earth, *erokoit*, is used 302 mixed with fat (or sometimes *simsim* oil) for rubbing on the head; white 789 earth, *euoriot*, is used as a magical remedy in cases of homicide.

d) Cattle

231 If the Dorobo had not been in such close contact with a people whose 177 primary interest in life was cattle, it is possible that they would have contented 181 themselves with agriculture and no live stock. But their relations with the Nandi have inevitably led them to take an interest in cattle, and to think that the [556] possession of cattle is a desirable thing. Therefore they are slowly trying to acquire cattle, and are in process of making them their ultimate objective. But

18: Merker--319 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai
Dorobo FL6
Asa

/241 cont./

V.

000 Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Care and treatment of the pregnant woman, the woman in labor, and the woman in childbed. -- Killing newborn children. -- Fertility. -- Child mortality.

843 [842] [824] The opinion that the author heard expressed a number of times by Asá-Wandorobo, that pregnancy is more or less bound up with a definite time of year, and, to be sure, in such a way that either conception takes place at blossom time or birth takes place at the time of the fruitage of the poisonous tree Acocanthera abyssinica, appears surprising.

[224] /242/ During his wife's pregnancy the husband does not pursue a game animal shot at in hunting, because it is believed that the latter, at his approach, will resist the poison and escape. Therefore, after he has shot an animal, he returns to the camp and from there sends another man out to look for the animal. The pregnant woman [825] may not be beaten. Neither he nor the pregnant wife may step over a procession of migrating ants. She is forbidden to eat meat from a wild animal that died or was killed by a predatory animal, likewise soup, and furthermore honey in which dead bee larvae are found. She must avoid coming near a chameleon or a snake, or exposing herself to the heat of the sun for any length of time. All this, in the opinion of the Asá, would harm the fetus.

[302] [202] If the woman visits another camp, she smears her forehead with white clay beforehand in order to announce her condition to its occupants. On the way there she is accompanied by a little girl, [858] whom she leads by the hand. As the reason for this, the people [825] say that a miscarriage would take place if the woman went without a girl and on the way saw the previously mentioned weaver bird or heard its dil-dil-dil calls. A woman pregnant for the first time is 843 given gifts by all the people (men, women, boys, girls) of the camp 431 and her friends in the neighboring camps at about the middle of her pregnancy. She is presented with a leather apron, a pair of ear pendants, beads, chains, or even a head of small livestock.

/252 cont./

301 [56] [832] that which fills the el móran. Whereas the latter vie with one another for the favor of so many girls, the former, in their small camps, scarcely have to fear any competition. Lavish and conspicuous ornamentation, however, would also be burdensome and hindering for the hunter in hunting. Hence for the most part one finds among them, as well as among the married men, only in the ear lobes the tube-shaped ol gissoi of the Masai, which designate the same, and around the neck a smaller number of simpler rings. On the other hand, the Wandorobo women, concerning the quantity and types of ornaments, are quite on a par with those of the Masai. To be sure, one never finds among the former such, decked-out fashionable beauties as among the latter; rather, the individual woman has only a few articles of adornment Besides the ones mentioned, the author also found the following kinds of ornaments, which, for the sake of brevity, are to be listed only with the names of the Masai and Wandorobo. (From the first designation then is to be seen, according to Section II, what it concerns):

[171]

301 192 ol orowĭl, here lilŭod; ol eleschua, here called the same; eń gimeta, here likewise; e rab, here eńguan; ol kibaba, here likewise; en jili, here called the same; ol benĭĕt, here likewise; olaiai, here na haiiĕt; further, the heavy brass-wire ear pendants of the women (surudia), here tamaschiĕt, tamagĭg, and the large ornament of iron wire es segeńgeĭ e murt, here es segeńgeĭ endet to issat; es segeńgeĭ ol barańgasch. /253/ here es segeńgeĭ to lubaog; es segeńgeĭ en dagule, here es segeńgeĭ to n dagulet, and the es segeńgeĭ ol oreschet, here es segeńgeĭ to eĕ.

301 Finger rings (here ol gissoi ku seńgetok) are worn only by women, and, to be sure, especially on the middle finger of the right hand. Men do not wear any, because allegedly the bowstring easily catches on it in shooting.

• 302 Men, women, and children shave their heads as a rule and let the hair grow at most two inches long between two shavings. One seldom meets a dobonog with the braid coiffure (sémug).

[171] Head and body hair are removed to the same extent and in the same

1, [For a description of these ornaments, see Masai FL12, 18:Merker, category 301--Analyst]

/253 cont./

302 [171] [412] [304] [154] manner as among the Masai, but here the eyebrows are also shaved by both sexes. The nails are cut with an ordinary two-edged knife. The two middle lower incisors are not broken out for everyone. Hair and nail cuttings are thrown away or hidden at some distance from the kraal, so that they will not fall into the hands of an evil sorcerer, who would be able to make from them sorcery leading to a sickness for their former wearer.

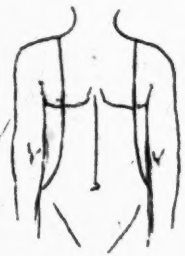

Fig 87.

302 531 [386] The young men and girls color their entire bodies with a paint made out of fat and red earth (ol garia), or the former also only legs and lower arms, and then wipe off the color again in serpentine lines (lama) that run parallel an inch apart. After killing an elephant [171] the happy hunter paints his chest with three lines, the two outer ones of which go from the collarbone over the nipples to the hips, the middle one from the chest to the navel (Fig. 87), or they paint

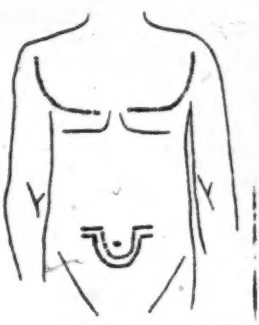

Fig. 88.

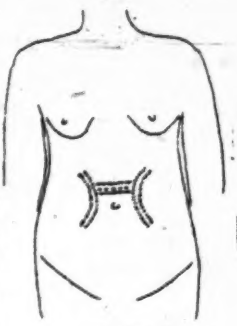

Fig. 89a.

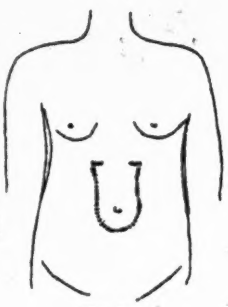

Fig. 89b.

their whole bodies, with the exception of the abdomen, with white and red stripes (like the Masai warriors). The former painting they [192] call katadiridi, the latter they designate with the Masai word en gituñguat. At feasts the men draw a line with the powder ol mogoñgora = root, from the upper lip upward over nose and forehead to the hairline. Boys (Fig. 88) and girls (Fig. 89) tattoo the lyre 304 figure /254/ of the Masai, the latter also another similar one on the 171 abdomen. Not infrequently one also finds on the face of the women [531] the etched-in ol kigerot design, which has been discussed for the Masai.